805 bl) lasting seven months. The time is counted in moons and in nights, and the term moon or night is mentioned as many times as is necessary to arrive at the total of months (lunar), or of days, that one desires to mention. This enumeration gives a savory color to the language (cf. quotations 6 and 52): "hetende, hetende . . ." or kanadao, kanadao . . , etc. A source of confusion often comes from the fact that the Indian uses the term Ka (abbreviated from kanadero), "a single one," implying the period of time involved; one finds oneself thus faced with the enumeration "Ka, Ka, Ka ..." etc., without knowing whether it is a question of nights,or of one (moon) one (moon), etc.

They distinguish "today" (uejdnekuare, bl) from "tomorrow" (kanadaorekuare, bl), from "yesterday" (kutnore, bl), and from "the day after tomorrow" (kanalalaore, bl, = "still another night").

The day is divided into six phases (dialect bl);

The dawn: littene, "it comes up" (the sun), naaninde, "it mounts";

9 o'clock: nikalaena, "it brightens";

Noon: nakakatiore, "the bad hour";

15 o'clock: nisedi'tige, "it turns";

17 o'clock: kadeʔrgiena, "it falls";

Twilight: kanalitere, "night comes."

● 823 The Nambikwara recognize four directions of space, two of which correspond to the axis of the apparent movement of the sun and two to the direction of the rivers, in effect approximately perpendicular to the preceding:

The north: jokanore, "toward bottom";

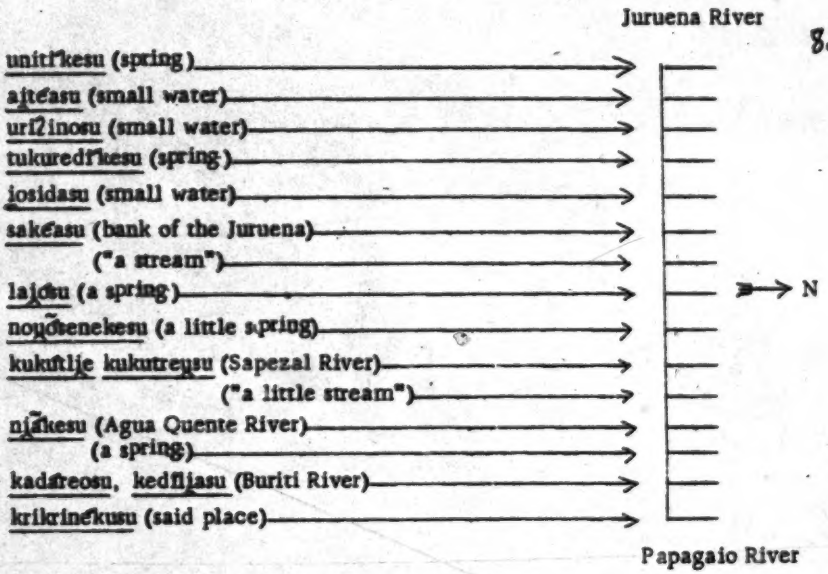
The south: ukenore, "toward the top";

The west: ʒuingatere, "the sun goes down";

The east: ʒunliritere, "the sun comes up" (bl).

57. ndaorerilikakate nejena nejlikẽ (bl)
There is no other one, it is enough!

Territories are known and marked at distances extending 200 or 300 kilometers. Places, sources and courses of water have names, and the Indians (or at least some) are able to trace on the sand summary maps of travel with information as to the principal landmarks. Here is how Al marks the stages of the trip of his group from the Papagaio River to the tributary of the right bank of the Juruena River where his village is located:



TRADITION

The Nambikwara have a sharp sense of tradition. We have read above (p. 50) a remark of B1 which shows him to be sadly cognizant of the decline of his race. Customs and techniques are generally considered as legacies of the "ancestors": 173 [183 829]

58. irotnore ikãtage nittige.
"The ancestors taught us how to coil it [the ribbon of rubber meant for making a ball]" (b1).

One single legend was found relating to the origin of the universe. [120] It is that of the Flood, the childrens' version of which we have already given. (1) Here is the text used by adults: 773 539

1. See above, p. 69.

59. narudne kãʔihire
narukaʔihire naukaurʔaure
nahutende kãngarage naukãdo urʔere toãdige
the water had descended the water flooded everyone to die

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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particular form of their own. Death is identified with these spirits. Men's souls are believed to be reincarnated as jaguars, whereas women's and children's souls are taken away by wind and thunder, never to return.

The highest being is the Thunder, with which any man, though usually a shaman, may have personal contact through revelations and visions. Women, however, except when very old, and children are deprived of these privileges. Women are also forbidden, under pain of death, to see the sacred flageolets (see Musical Instruments, p. 368) played at the ceremonies marking the beginning and the end of the dry season.

SHAMANISM AND MEDICINE

The shaman is sometimes distinct from—but more frequently identified with—the political chief. He is distinguished by having the privilege of polygyny, playing the leading role in ceremonial life, and possessing special supernatural powers. He treats patients by sucking out the disease or by fighting it with small ritual arrows called "thunder-arrows."

In addition to magical cures, the *Nambicuara* treat sickness with numerous medicinal plants, which are used externally or internally according to the disease. For eye infection, which is very frequent, they apply the infusion of a special bark with the help of a container made of leaves.

FOLKLORE, LORE, AND LEARNING

The only legend recorded by Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b) is a flood tale relating the destruction of human life and its re-creation through several incestuous marriages between the offspring of an old woman, who was the only being who escaped the disaster.

The only basic numbers used for counting are one and two, but the natives can reckon higher figures by combining these.

Colors are classified differently according to the dialects. The *Eastern, Central, Southern,* and *Western Nambicuara* agree in putting yellow and green in the same category, whereas the *Northern* group identify red and yellow, and class green, blue, and black together.

Some *Nambicuara* groups call stars by the same name which designates the spirits. The year is divided into two seasons and an undetermined number of lunar months. The day includes six main stages, each based on the position of the sun. Space is divided into two sections that are perpendicular to each other, one corresponding to the apparent movement of the sun and the other to the direction of the main waterways.

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3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory